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CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES REGARDING THE AMERICAN PUNITIVE EXPEDITION, 1916.*

Special Representative Carothers to the Secretary of State.

[Telegram.]

EL PASO, TEX.,
March 9, 1916.

Early this morning Villa attacked American garrison at Columbus, setting fire to several buildings and killing several American soldiers. Twenty-three Villistas were killed. It is believed Villa led attack in person. I leave for Columbus this afternoon, arriving there 4 p. m. Address care Col. Slocum, commander Thirteenth Cavalry. American troops have crossed border in pursuit of Villa.

CAROTHERS.

Collector Cobb to the Secretary of State.

[Telegram.]

EL PASO, TEX.,
March 9, 1916.

Following from Deputy Collector, Columbus, N. Mex.:

Columbus attacked this morning, 4.30 o'clock. Citizens murdered. Repulsed about 6 o'clock. Town partly burned. They have retreated to west. Unable say how many were killed. Custom force and families O. K.

Department of Justice informed that between four and five hundred Villa troops attack Columbus, N. Mex., about 4.30. Villa probably in charge. Three American soldiers killed and several injured; also killed four civilians and wounded four. Several of attacking party killed and wounded by our forces. Attacking party also burned depot and principal buildings in Columbus. United States soldiers now pursuing attacking parties across the line into Mexico. No prisoners reported taken alive.

COBB.

* Printed from official texts furnished by the Department of State of the United States.

The Secretary of State to Consul Silliman.^{1, 2}

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 9, 1916.

Official reports just received from El Paso state that Gen. Villa, with several hundred men, early this morning attacked American garrison at Columbus, N. Mex., setting fire to principal buildings in town and killing a number of American soldiers and civilians. Other official reports from El Paso state that Villa's forces were well known to be in the Casas Grandes district several days ago, but that the forces of the *de facto* government were said to be insufficient to pursue them; also that, about that time, the Mexican consul at El Paso requested Gen. Carranza to furnish additional troops for the State of Chihuahua.

Convey foregoing to Gen. Carranza for his information and advise him that this government is suspending judgment until further facts can be learned, but you may say to him that this appears to be the most serious situation which has confronted this government during the entire period of Mexican unrest, and that it is expected that he will do everything in his power to pursue, capture, and exterminate this lawless element which is now proceeding westward from Columbus.

LANSING.

*The Secretary of State to all American consular officers in Mexico.*³

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 10, 1916.

The following statement has just been given to the press by the President:

An adequate force will be sent at once in pursuit of Villa with the single object of capturing him and putting a stop to his forays. This can and will be done in entirely friendly aid of the constituted authorities in Mexico and with scrupulous respect for the sovereignty of that republic.

LANSING.

¹ Addressed, care American consul at Guadalajara.

² Repeated to Charles Parker, representing American interests, Mexico City, and to Consul Hanna at Monterey, with instructions to hand copy to Consul General Rodgers upon his arrival at Monterey.

³ Same to Charles Parker, representing American Interests, Mexico City.

Consul Silliman to the Secretary of State.

[Telegram.]

GUADALAJARA, MEXICO,
March 10, 1916.

Following just received from Secretary Acuna, which is transmitted in Spanish immediately to save time:

IRAPUTO, *March 10, 11 p. m.*

Number 51, Irapuato, 10. Guadalajara.

MR. SILLIMAN: Foreign Secretary further request confirmed at midnight. Will advise result this latter. Am advised recent development will urge news be suppressed in republic with view preventing demonstration. Reply follows:

[Translation.]

In due reply to your polite note dated yesterday and forwarded to-day by Mr. John W. Belt, I have the honor to inform you that upon my making the said note known to the Citizen First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army in Charge of the Executive Power of the Nation, he directed me to say to you, so that you may be pleased so to report to the Department of State of the Government of the United States, that he is grieved to hear (* * *)¹ the town of Columbus, N. Mex., on the occasion of the attack it suffered yesterday from the bandits led by Francisco Villa, that, although there has been in the State of Chihuahua a sufficient force to restore order and afford guarantees to nationals and foreigners since Francisco Villa began operations in the mountains of that State, on the request of the governor of the State and of the constitutional consul at El Paso, Tex., the First Chief issued in time orders for 2,000 men under command of Gen. Luis Gutierrez to sally forth under instructions to pursue the bandits who have just crossed into the territory of the United States, which they were no doubt compelled to do when persistently pursued by the said forces. The deplorable incident that has just occurred bears some resemblance to the raids effected by Indians from the reservations of the Government of the United States into the States of Sonora and Chihuahua. The Sonora raid took place about the year 1880, when the Indian Geronimo, who died a few years ago at Fort Mount, Ala., leading a large horde, invaded a community in the north of the State of Sonora and committed a number of murders and depredations, taking the lives and property of Mexican families, until after a long and persistent pursuit by Mexican and American forces the band of malefactors was annihilated and its chief captured. The invasion of Chihuahua led by the Indian Victor, followed by 800 Indians, took place from 1884 to 1886. The bands of foragers then went as far as the town of Tejoloche and Tres Castillos, very near the capital of Chihuahua, also committing many crimes; and at the first actual battle they had with the Mexican forces they scattered after losing their chief. In both these cases an agreement between the Governments of the United States and Mexico provided that armed forces of either country could freely cross into the territory of the other to pursue and chastise those

¹ Omission.

bands. Bearing in mind those precedents and the happy results to both countries yielded by the agreement above referred to, the government over which the Citizen First Chief presides, desiring to exterminate in as little time as possible the horde led by Francisco Villa, who was recently outlawed, to capture and inflict upon him the penalty of the law, applies through you, honorable Mr. Confidential Agent, to the Government of the United States and asks the permission necessary to let Mexican forces cross into American territory in pursuit of those bandits, acknowledging due reciprocity in regard to forces of the United States crossing into Mexican territory if the raid effected at Columbus should unfortunately be repeated at any other point of the border. The Government of Mexico would highly appreciate a prompt and favorable decision from the Government of the United States.

Be pleased, etc.,

ACUNA,
*In charge of the Department
of Foreign Relations.*
SILLIMAN.

*The Secretary of State to Consul Silliman.*¹

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 13, 1916.

Your March 10, midnight.

You are instructed to reply as follows to Secretary Acuna's note of March 10:

The Government of the United States has received the courteous note of Señor Acuna and has read with satisfaction his suggestion for reciprocal privileges to the American and Mexican authorities in the pursuit and apprehension of outlaws who infest their respective territories lying along the international boundary and who are a constant menace to the lives and property of residents of that region.

The Government of the United States, in view of the unusual state of affairs which has existed for some time along the international boundary and earnestly desiring to coöperate with the *de facto* Government of Mexico to suppress this state of lawlessness, of which the recent attack on Columbus, N. Mex., is a deplorable example, and to insure peace and order in the regions contiguous to the boundary between the two republics, readily grants permission for military forces of the *de facto* Government of Mexico to cross the international boundary in pursuit of lawless bands of armed men who have entered Mexico from the United States, committed outrages on Mexican soil, and fled into the United States, on the understanding that the *de*

¹ Same to John W. Belt, Queretaro.

facto Government of Mexico grants the reciprocal privilege that the military forces of the United States may pursue across the international boundary into Mexican territory lawless bands of armed men who have entered the United States from Mexico, committed outrages on American soil, and fled into Mexico.

The Government of the United States understands that in view of its agreement to this reciprocal arrangement proposed by the *de facto* government, the arrangement is now complete and in force, and the reciprocal privileges thereunder may accordingly be exercised by either government without further interchange of views.

It is a matter of sincere gratification to the Government of the United States that the *de facto* Government of Mexico has evinced so cordial and friendly a spirit of coöperation in the efforts of the authorities of the United States to apprehend and punish the bands of outlaws who seek refuge beyond the international boundary in the erroneous belief that the constituted authorities will resent any pursuit across the boundary by the forces of the government whose citizens have suffered by the crimes of the fugitives.

With the same spirit of cordial friendship the Government of the United States will exercise the privilege granted by the *de facto* Government of Mexico in the hope and confident expectation that by their mutual efforts lawlessness will be eradicated and peace and order maintained in the territories of the United States and Mexico contiguous to the international boundary.

LANSING.

Mr. Belt to the Secretary of State.

[Telegram Extract.]

QUERETARO, MEXICO,
March 13, 1916.

Department's March 13, 3 p. m.

Reply of United States to *de facto* government's note of March 10, Columbus border situation, received at 5 this afternoon. Personally presented this important communication orally and in writing to Foreign Secretary Acuna at 5.30 p. m. He read same in my presence and afterwards stated:

I am pleased to receive a reply of this character from the Government of the United States. It will relieve the very delicate situation that has developed owing to the Columbus affair. I will immediately transmit this reply to the Chief Executive, and am of the opinion that there will be a reply to this courteous note expressing appreciation of same. In this event I shall deliver it to you immediately for transmittal to the Government of the United States.

JOHN W. BELT.

Statement for the press by the Secretary of State.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Washington, March 13, 1916.

In order to remove any apprehensions that may exist either in the United States or in Mexico, the President has authorized me to give in his name the public assurance that the military operations now in contemplation by this government will be scrupulously confined to the object already announced, and that in no circumstances will they be suffered to trench in any degree upon the sovereignty of Mexico or develop into intervention of any kind in the internal affairs of our sister republic. On the contrary, what is now being done is deliberately intended to preclude the possibility of intervention.

ROBERT LANSING.

The Acting Secretary of State to all American consular officers in Mexico and to Mr. Parker at Mexico City.

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, March 14, 1916.

Department's March 10, 6 p. m.

This government's expedition will shortly enter Mexico with sole object of pursuing and capturing Villa and his band for the outrage committed at Columbus, N. Mex., on March 9, when at least 16 Americans were killed, principal buildings burned, etc. Upon the determination of this government to send a punitive expedition into Mexico becoming known, the *de facto* government proposed that reciprocal privileges be granted should armed bands from the American side raid Mexican territory. Department's representative near Gen. Carranza last night delivered a note to the Mexican Foreign Secretary, in response to the proposal of the *de facto* government, granting permission for Mexican soldiers to cross international boundary in pursuit of lawless bands who may enter Mexico from the United States, commit outrages in Mexican territory, and thereafter return to the United States. After presentation note, Foreign Secretary informally stated he was pleased with same, and predicted that it would relieve delicate situation developed by Columbus affair.

POLK.

The Acting Secretary of State to Special Representative Rodgers.

[Telegram]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 18, 1916.

Request Gen. Carranza to issue necessary orders to appropriate Chihuahua authorities to permit this government to transport supplies for American troops now in pursuit of Villa and his band over the Northwestern Railway from Juarez to Casas Grandes or its vicinity. In making the request you will remind Gen. Carranza of this government's courtesy to him in repeatedly allowing his forces to use the railroads of this country. Telegraph reply as quickly as possible.

POLK.

The Confidential Agent of the de facto Government of Mexico to the Secretary of State.

CONFIDENTIAL AGENCY OF THE
CONSTITUTIONALIST GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO.

Washington, March 18, 1916.

MR. SECRETARY: Reiterating the conversation I had to-day with Mr. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, in regard to the crossing of troops into Mexican territory, I am directed by my government to bring to your excellency's attention that the Chief Executive of Mexico is in receipt of reliable information that without the knowledge of, or advice to the nearest civil or military authorities, and without any intelligence between the Government of the United States and my government, an expedition described as punitive, for the purpose of pursuing Villa and his band, has entered Mexican territory via Palomas. Complying with the above instructions, I am directed to apprise your excellency of the above facts and to say that my government, upholding, on its part, the propositions contained in its note of the 10th instant, is of the opinion that the terms and conditions of an agreement which should be formally entered into between both countries have not been fixed concerning the crossing of troops, in order that one government and the other should feel authorized to send an expedition. The consent expressed by my government in regard to the crossing of armed troops

over our frontier line is being erroneously understood by taking it for granted that the crossing of a military expedition in pursuit of Villa has been permitted, and, furthermore, by the intent to have troops move over the line of the Northwestern Railway of Mexico, which runs between Ciudad Juarez and the southern part of the State of Chihuahua, inasmuch as the above-mentioned note states with perfect clearness that this government is disposed to act within the terms of strict reciprocity, if, unfortunately, from now on, any incursions similar to the one at Columbus or of any other character and at any other point of the line should occur: therefore, the above mentioned note should and must not be understood as tolerating or permitting any expeditions into the national territory. I am also instructed to make it clear to your excellency that the Mexican Government can not authorize right of the crossing into our territory of expeditions of American forces before the terms of the above mutual agreement are definitely and concisely fixed; and I am instructed to assure you, Mr. Secretary, that my government is studying with the urgency the case demands the propositions of the agreement to be submitted in due form, and as early as possible, so that it may be determined for once and at all times the matter in question.

With the assurances, etc.

E. ARREDONDO.

The Acting Secretary of State to the Confidential Agent of the de facto Government of Mexico.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 19, 1916.

MY DEAR MR. ARREDONDO: I beg to acknowledge your letter of March 18, 1916, inclosing a translation of the substance of the message from the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Mexico, which you were good enough to read to me yesterday afternoon.

As I stated to you, it is a matter of sincere regret that there should have been any misunderstanding as to the attitude of Gen. Carranza in connection with the crossing of the border by United States troops while in pursuit of Villa. It was the impression of this Department,

as a result of the messages exchanged between this government and the *de facto* Government of Mexico, that your government fully understood and acquiesced in the arrangement proposed by the Minister of Foreign Relations, Señor Acuña, in his note of March 10, and accepted by this government in our note dated March 13, presented by Special Representative Silliman, whereby the troops of either government could, under certain conditions, pursue bandits into the territory of the other. With that understanding troops of the United States Government were directed to pursue our common enemy, as it was realized that no time was to be lost if the pursuit was to be effective. While our military commanders have been given explicit instructions to scrupulously respect the sovereignty of the Mexican Government, and we believe there will be no possibility of friction, yet this government would be glad to receive any suggestions your government may care to make as to the terms of a definite agreement to cover operation of troops either in our country or your country under these particular conditions.

I am, etc.,

FRANK L. POLK.

The Confidential Agent of the de facto Government of Mexico to the Secretary of State.

CONFIDENTIAL AGENCY OF THE
CONSTITUTIONALIST GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO,
Washington, March 19, 1916.

MR. SECRETARY: I am directed by my government to apprise your excellency that the office of the First Chief has been informed that the American forces now in Mexican territory intend to occupy the town of Casas Grandes, State of Chihuahua, and to say to you formally that as long as there is no agreement concerning the form in which bandits should be pursued along the boundary line, my government can not permit the occupation of Mexican towns by American forces, much less such towns as are occupied by our own troops, as this might give rise to frequent conflicts.

With the assurances, etc.

E. ARREDONDO.

Special Representative Rodgers to the Secretary of State.

[Telegram.]

Queretaro, Mexico, March 19, 1916.

Ten to-night sub-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs called and presented reply to Department's March 18, 6 p. m., use of railways Chihuahua, transportation supplies, troops, requested transmission, the text of the note as follows:

Queretaro, March 19, 1916.

Having reported to the Citizen First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army in Charge of the Executive Power of the Union with your note of to-day's date, in which you quote the text of a message received by you yesterday from the Department of State of the United States, by order of the said high functionary, I beg you to transmit to the said department what follows by way of reply:

The note referred to has caused great surprise to the Mexican Government, for it had not until now received any official notice from the Government of the United States that American troops had crossed into Mexican territory or that they were at or near Casas Grandes, this government's surprise being made the greater from the fact that negotiations through the proper channels and occasioned by the Columbus incident are under way at this very moment to perfect agreements as to the terms and conditions of the convention that is to govern the passage of troops from one to the other country in the sense of the spirit of the note dated the 10th of this month addressed by the government over which the Citizen First Chief presides to the Government of the United States of America. The Mexican Government can not but wonder at the fact that the said troops should have crossed the boundary line and entered our territory without previous agreement, official communication, or notice of any kind and reached, as stated in the note referred to a place which, as is Casas Grandes, is much more distant from the boundary line than any other point which under previous treaties have been the extreme limit in cases of pursuits. To the end of maintaining unalterable the good relations that have always existed between the United States and Mexico, the Citizen First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army in Charge of the Executive Power of the Union deems it necessary, in order to act with full knowledge of the facts of the case in a matter of such great moment, that the Department of State of the United States of the North be pleased to furnish the government over which he presides with information as to the circumstances under which the passage of American troops into Mexican territory was affected at El Paso, their number, the branch of the service to which they belong, the name of the officer in command, the place where they are, and the causes which occasioned their crossing.

Hoping that you will be pleased to transmit the foregoing to the Department of State of the United States and impress it with the necessity of its prompt answer to the points set forth in the note above quoted, permit me to avail, etc.

AGUILAR,
Secretary of Relations.
RODGERS.

The Acting Secretary of State to Special Representative Rodgers.

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 20, 1916.

Your March 19, 12 midnight.

You will express to Gen. Carranza in the terms of deepest consideration and friendly assurance the regret felt by this government over any apprehension he may feel or misunderstanding he may labor under in relation to the specific object of the expedition, the single purpose of which is to pursue and capture Villa, unless his prior capture should be effected by the forces of the *de facto* government. You will give Gen. Carranza every assurance that immediately upon the accomplishment of this purpose the forces of this government will retire from Mexican territory forthwith. From the very inception of the expedition our troops were given explicit instructions to scrupulously refrain from any act that might cause the slightest friction or the least criticism, and in future operations, in so far as possible, to conform with the suggestions of the *de facto* government; and this government confidently assures Gen. Carranza that our forces will not deviate from the directions given them. Therefore, as far as this government or its troops are concerned, there is no cause for the slightest misapprehension.

You will also say to Gen. Carranza that Señor Arredondo to-day submitted the draft for a reciprocal arrangement suggested telegraphically by the Minister of Foreign Relations; that this government agrees in principle; and that for better adaptability some modifications are now being given urgent consideration. This government realizes that such an arrangement will have an immediate and helpful effect and great influence upon the cordial relations of the two governments by terminating border outrages and abating frontier irritation.

Gen. Carranza should be informed that in the present instance, however, this government, actuated solely by the intention of furthering the amicable relations now existing between the two governments, accepted, without any hesitation, the proposal made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, through Mr. Silliman, on March 10. The only hope of success depended upon quick action in the effort to capture Villa, who promises to be a constant menace to the friendship of our countries.

The troops which were sent across the border are under the command of Gen. John Pershing and consist of cavalry, infantry, and artillery.

Their location at the present time can not be stated with preciseness, but it is believed to be in the neighborhood of San Miguel. From all the advices received by the department, the expedition, in accordance with instructions, appears to be coöperating with the forces of the *de facto* government, and they are apparently working together in earnest and friendly endeavor to accomplish the ends so greatly to be desired by our governments.

You are directed to request Gen. Carranza to issue instructions to the Chihuahua authorities, directing them to give their full coöperation to the expedition. You may also say to Gen. Carranza that the department will telegraph within the next 24 hours, after consultation with Mr. Arredondo, a suggestion for greater coöperation of the two forces in the present expedition.

POLK.

Special Representative Rodgers to the Secretary of State.

[Telegram.]

Queretaro, Mexico, March 21, 1916.

Department's two, March 20, 11 p. m. pertaining to military expedition, received this afternoon and presented to Foreign Secretary at 7 p. m. Secretary promises to immediately present same to the Chief Executive.

RODGERS.

The Acting Secretary of State to the Confidential Agent of the de facto Government of Mexico.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 21, 1916.

Sir: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of March 19, 1916, relative to the occupation of Mexican towns by United States forces.

In reply, you are informed that Gen. Funston was instructed by telegraph on March 18, 1916, to direct Brig. Gen. Pershing to avoid occupying any Mexican town.

I am, etc.,

FRANK L. POLK.

Statement by the President on Mexican Affairs.

As has already been announced, the expedition into Mexico was ordered under an agreement with the *de facto* government of Mexico for the single purpose of taking the bandit Villa, whose forces had actually invaded the territory of the United States, and is in no sense intended as an invasion of that republic or as an infringement of its sovereignty. I have therefore asked the several news services to be good enough to assist the Administration in keeping this view of the expedition constantly before both the people of this country and the distressed and sensitive people of Mexico, who are very susceptible indeed to impressions received from the American press not only but also very ready to believe that those impressions proceed from the views and objects of our government itself. Such conclusions, it must be said, are not unnatural, because the main, if not the only source of information for the people on both sides of the border is the public press of the United States. In order to avoid the creation of erroneous and dangerous impressions in this way, I have called upon the several news agencies to use the utmost care not to give news stories regarding this expedition the color of war, to withhold stories of troop movements and military preparations which might be given that interpretation, and to refrain from publishing unverified rumors of unrest in Mexico. I feel that it is most desirable to impress upon both our own people and the people of Mexico the fact that the expedition is simply a necessary punitive measure, aimed solely at the elimination of the marauders who raided Columbus and who infest an unprotected district near the border which they use as a base in making attacks upon the lives and property of our citizens within our own territory. It is the purpose of our commanders to coöperate in every possible way with the forces of General Carranza in removing this cause of irritation to both governments and to retire from Mexican territory so soon as that object is accomplished.

It is my duty to warn the people of the United States that there are persons all along the border who are actively engaged in originating and giving as wide currency as they can to rumors of the most sensational and disturbing sort which are wholly unjustified by the facts. The object of this traffic in falsehood is obvious. It is to create intolerable friction between the Government of the United States and the *de facto* Government of Mexico, for the purpose of bringing about intervention in the interest of certain American owners of Mexican properties. This

object can not be attained so long as sane and honorable men are in control of this government, but very serious conditions may be created, unnecessary bloodshed may result, and the relations between the two republics may be very much embarrassed. The people of the United States should know the sinister and unscrupulous influences that are afoot and should be on their guard against crediting any story coming from the border; and those who disseminate the news should make it a matter of patriotism and of conscience to test the source and authenticity of every report they receive from that quarter.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 25, 1916.

The Confidential Agent of the de facto Government of Mexico to the Secretary of State.

CONFIDENTIAL AGENCY OF THE
CONSTITUTIONALIST GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO,
Washington, April 13, 1916.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to your excellency the full text of the following note which I have just received from my government:

QUERETARO, *April 12, 1916.*

MR. SECRETARY: The Mexican Government, in its desire to keep cordial and unalterable the good relations of friendship which ought to exist between Mexico and the United States, not only because this is the sentiment which animates the government itself, but owing to its desire to satisfy the spirit of Article 21 of the treaty of friendship concluded between the two countries under date of February 2, 1848, and in view of the lamentable occurrences which took place at Columbus on March 9, last, recalling historic precedents with respect to similar cases, did not hesitate to make to the government of the United States of America, under the aforesaid case of March 10, a proposition according to which the forces of both countries might reciprocally cross the boundary line in pursuit of raiders, if unfortunately there should be repeated along the frontier incidents such as that which occurred at Columbus, for from the very first the Mexican Government considered that, in view of the time which had elapsed and inasmuch as it was a question of a case already past, said incident could not be comprised within the proposition for a reciprocal passage of troops. For this reason the note of our government, delivered under date of March 10, very clearly indicates that the proposition embodied therein was conditional, or, what is the same, that reciprocity could take place *only provided the irruption recorded at Columbus were unfortunately repeated at any other point along the boundary line.*

The American Government, relying on the text of the aforementioned note and without having thoroughly comprehended its whole purport, conditionality and limitations, but rather believing in the existence of a definite agreement as indicated by the terms of the note of March 13, wherein it is stated "that the United States Government understands that in view of its consent to this reciprocal arrangement proposed by the de facto government, this arrangement is now complete and in force and that the aforementioned reciprocal privilege may be exercised by each government without future exchanges of ideas," considered itself authorized accordingly to send an expedition to Mexican territory which it has called punitive, for the purpose of pursuing and punishing Villa and his party of raiders, which expedition it sent several days after the malefactors had returned into Mexican territory.

On the 17th of March the Mexican Government sent a note to the American Government through our confidential agent at Washington, Mr. Licenciado Eliseo Arredondo, stating to it that it had received reliable information to the effect that, without the consent or advice of the political or civil authorities of our territory situated the nearest, and without any communication being sent meantime by the American to the Mexican Government, a so-called punitive expedition had passed via Palomas with a view to pursuing Villa and his party, and in consequence said confidential agent was instructed to call the attention of the United States Government to the facts that a false interpretation was being given to the text of the note of March 10, inasmuch as, while the Mexican Government was willing to adhere to its proposition regarding the reciprocal passage of troops, nevertheless no expedition could be sent until the terms and conditions of the agreement on the subject should become definite.

This government, in its note of March 17, insisted that the reciprocal passage of troops should be permitted only "*provided, unfortunately, there should be repeated in future irruptions such as that as occurred at Columbus or of any other kind at some place along the boundary line.*"

Meanwhile the Mexican Government, faithful to the proposition made and with the intention of strictly living up to its agreement, set about at once to prepare the draft of an agreement for the reciprocal passage of troops, which draft was presented in due form to the United States Government on March 18, last, it being hoped that the terms and conditions set forth in said agreement would meet its approval. The American Government, through our aforesaid confidential agent, communicated that it tentatively accepted the agreement and that only points of mere detail were being studied in order to render the agreement definite. At this state of affairs a note was presented on March 19 to this office by the Honorable Mr. James Linn Rodgers, as representative of the American Government in this city, requesting that the proper authorities of Chihuahua be given the necessary instructions to permit the transportation to Casas Grandes, over the Northwestern Railroad of Mexico, of some provisions for the American troops who were pursuing Villa and his party, and on the same date the Mexican Government, without complying with this request, answered the said note by expressing surprise that, without any official notice on the part of the United States Government, American troops had crossed into Mexican territory and that these troops were already at Casas Grandes or its vicinity, the surprise being increased by the fact that an endeavor was being made through the proper channels and on account of the lamentable occurrences at Columbus to per-

fect arrangements with respect to the terms and conditions of an agreement for the passage of troops of both countries, in accordance with the spirit of the note of March 10 as aforementioned.

On March 18 our confidential agent at Washington had an interview with the Honorable Mr. Frank L. Polk, then Acting Secretary of State, the latter having stated to our confidential agent that he regretted not having received the observations of the Mexican Government prior to the passage of the American forces over the boundary, which observation would have been duly heeded, and he assured him that the passage of these troops took place with the best of good faith in the understanding that it would not be necessary to enter into further details of the agreement, which was considered final and concluded. These declarations made by the Honorable Mr. Polk were confirmed in all their parts at the conference held on March 23 by our confidential agent with Your Excellency, who likewise stated that he regretted having misinterpreted the contents of said note respecting the passage of troops, which latter would not advance any farther south from the place where they were at that time, as he assured our confidential agent.

On March 19 the Honorable Mr. Polk addressed a letter to our confidential agent at Washington ratifying to him in writing the conference held on the day before and stating to him in a clear and positive manner that it was a cause of sincere regret that there should have been a misunderstanding in regard to the attitude of the First Chief with respect to the crossing of the border by troops of the United States in pursuit of Villa, for the Department of State of the United States thought that our government had given its full consent to an arrangement like that proposed by the then Secretary of Foreign Relations, Señor Licenciado Jesus Acuña, in his note dated March 10, which arrangement the Government of the United States accepted by note of the 10th of March which was delivered to this government by Special Representative Silliman and under which the troops of either nation could, subject to certain conditions, pursue bandits on the territory of the other.

In the declarations publicly made on March 26 by His Excellency President Wilson, that functionary used the following language: "As had already been announced the expedition to Mexico was ordered under an agreement with the de facto government of Mexico for the sole purpose of capturing the bandit Villa, whose forces had just invaded the territory of the United States, and under no pretext has it been a case of invading that republic or violating its sovereignty." This view expressed by his excellency President Wilson was corrected under date of the 31st of the same month of March through a message sent to our confidential agent in Washington, by which he was instructed to interview your excellency and duly call your attention to the view indicated, since the note dated March 10 bears on the reciprocal passage of troops solely in the case of a recurrence of incidents like that which took place at Columbus.

Lastly, your excellency, under date of the 3d of the current month, on delivering to our confidential agent the counter draft of agreement for the reciprocal crossing of troops with a view to its being offered to the consideration of the Government of Mexico, accompanied it with a note in which you say that the American Government trusts that the conditions set forth in the said agreement will not apply to the American forces at present on Mexican territory in pursuit of Villa, with assurances that in exercising that privilege of entering our territory those forces would confine their

military operations to the sole purpose of the expedition and would immediately thereupon return to their own country, and your excellency expresses thanks to the Mexican Government for achieving, as put by you, a convention by means of which the forces of the United States are given permission to pursue Villa and his party on Mexican territory, in the understanding that the American Government is disposed to respect the confidence therein evinced and will not in any way violate the sovereignty of Mexico or misuse the privilege so generously and freely granted to it.

Now the government of Mexico in proposing to that of the United States the conclusion of a formal convention for the reciprocal passage of troops in perfect accord as to the terms and conditions that are to govern such a passage, and relying on the character and nature of the notes exchanged on the subject as they are drawn from this note, necessarily believed in the supposition that the American Government was fully convinced that the expedition sent forth on Mexican territory in pursuit of Villa is without a foundation because of there existing no previous agreement on the subject which has been the only motive of the discussion until this moment.

Furthermore, the Honorable Secretary of State Polk, in the conference with our confidential agent in Washington, stated that the government of the United States had acted in good faith in sending its expedition into Mexico in pursuit of Villa, in the supposition that the note of March 10 contained a definite agreement; and that the American government agreed that the expedition should remain on Mexican territory only while the details of the agreement were being concluded.

If now the American government pretends that the expedition sent against Villa should be considered as an exceptional case, and that it should remain outside of the terms of the agreement, it appears altogether useless to continue discussing the conditions and details of same, because these details can be taken up later if it is considered necessary should a repetition of the lamentable incident happening at Columbus occur.

In consequence of the above, as a definite agreement has not been reached in respect to the terms of the agreement or treaty which would in general govern the reciprocal passage of troops across the border for the sole purpose of pursuing foraging bands which, in the future, may commit depredations in either of the countries, the government of Mexico believes that it is advisable, for the present to suspend all discussions or negotiations relative to this matter; and considering that the expedition sent by the government of the United States to pursue Villa is without warrant, under the circumstances, because there existed no previous formal or definite understanding; and because this expedition is not fulfilling its object and undoubtedly can not do so, because the band headed by Villa has already been dispersed; and finally because there are sufficient Mexican troops to pursue him and that more forces are being sent to exterminate the rest of the dispersed band, the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army, invested with the executive power of the Union, considers that it is now time to treat with the Government of the United States upon the subject of the withdrawal of its forces from our territory.

I take this occasion, etc.

C. AGUILAR,
Secretary of Foreign Relations.

Accordingly, it gives me pleasure, etc.

E. ARREDONDO.

The Secretary of State to Special Representative Rodgers.

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 14, 1916.

You will orally communicate to Gen. Carranza or Señor Aguilar in the following sense:

The department has received through Señor Arredondo the esteemed note of the *de facto* government of the 12th instant and has the matters of which it treats under careful consideration.

The intention of this government is the same as it was at the outset when United States troops entered Mexico—that is, to endeavor to take the bandit chief Villa. It desires to repeat again to the *de facto* government that it has no intention to violate in any way the sovereignty of Mexico and purposes to withdraw immediately as soon as the object of the expedition is accomplished. It would seem that the best way to hasten the withdrawal of the American troops would be for the *de facto* government to throw enough of their military forces into the region where Villa must be in hiding to insure his speedy capture. This government believes that it is correct in the view that the capture of Villa would result in more benefit to the *de facto* government than to the government of the United States. That his capture can be more speedily accomplished by coöperation between the forces of the two governments is manifest, which can be most practically accomplished through frequent conferences between the military commanders of the two governments in the field.

For the American troops to withdraw at once from Mexico would, in the view of this government, result in encouraging the Villista faction and also the followers of Diaz who are operating near the border. We assume that the *de facto* government would deplore such a result, and we hope, therefore, that it will approach the question of the withdrawal of the American troops in the most liberal spirit and with full knowledge that this government's actions are inspired only by a desire to accomplish the mutual object sought without in any way affecting the friendly relations now existing between the two governments.

LANSING.

The Mexican Secretary of Foreign Relations to the Secretary of State.

[Translation.]

MEXICO, FEDERAL DISTRICT,

May 22, 1916.

MR. SECRETARY: I am instructed by the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army in charge of the Executive Power of the Union, to transmit to your excellency the following note:

1. The Mexican Government has just been informed that a body of American troops, crossing the international line, has entered Mexican territory, and is at present near a place called El Pino, some 60 miles to the south of the frontier.

The passage of these troops, again carried out without the consent of the Mexican Government, gravely endangers the harmony and good relations which should exist between the Government of the United States and that of Mexico.

This government is forced to consider this act as one violating the sovereignty of Mexico, and, in consequence, urgently requests that the Government at Washington give the matter its most careful consideration with a view to define, once for all, the policy which it should pursue as regards the Mexican nation.

In order to show as clearly as possible the motives prompting the request made in the present note, it is necessary, before all, to examine carefully the events which have occurred up to the present moment.

2. As a result of the raiding of Columbus, New Mexico, by a band headed by Francisco Villa, on the morning of the 9th of March, of the present year, the Mexican Government, sincerely lamenting the occurrence, and with a view to effectively protect the boundary, expressed the desire that the Governments of the United States and Mexico should reach an agreement providing for the pursuit of the raiders. The Mexican Government made this proposition, guided by the precedent established under similar conditions prevailing in the years 1880 to 1884, and made a concrete request that permission be given Mexican troops to pursue raiders into American territory, under the same reciprocal conditions governing the passage of American troops to Mexican soil, in case such raids as that on Columbus should be repeated at any other point along the border.

As a result of this proposition, made in the Mexican note of March 10th,

the Government of the United States, either in error or precipitately, formed the opinion that the friendly attitude shown by the Mexican Government was sufficient to consider itself authorized to cross the frontier, and effectively, without awaiting a formal agreement in the matter, ordered a large body of American troops to enter Mexican territory in pursuit of Villa and his band.

3. The American Government, on this occasion, gave emphatic assurances to that of Mexico of its good faith, stating that the only object in crossing the boundary was to pursue and capture or destroy the band of Villa which had raided Columbus; that this act was not to be taken as signifying an invasion of our territory, nor an intention to violate the sovereignty of Mexico; and that as soon as the object of the expedition had been practically accomplished, the American troops would be withdrawn from Mexican territory.

4. The Mexican Government was not informed that American troops had crossed the frontier until the 17th of March, when the fact was brought unofficially to its attention, through private sources from El Paso, that some American troops were already on Mexican territory. This government then sent a note to that of the United States stating that inasmuch as the terms and conditions of the agreement to be formally made between the two countries for the passage of troops had not been decided upon, the American Government could not consider itself authorized to carry out the expedition.

The Washington Government explained the sending of the troops into Mexico by stating that it regretted that there should have existed a misinterpretation of the attitude of the Mexican Government in the matter of the passage of troops from the frontier of the United States in pursuit of Villa, but that this had been done under the impression that the previous exchange of messages implied the full consent of Mexican Government, without further formalities.

The Government of the United States further explained its attitude by the necessity of rapid action, and added that it would gladly receive any indications which the Government of Mexico might wish to make in regard to the terms of a definitive arrangement covering the operation of the troops in one or the other countries.

5. Both Governments then lent themselves to a discussion of the terms of an arrangement, according to which the reciprocal passage of troops should be settled. Two proposals of the Mexican Government and two counter proposals of that of the United States were submitted.

In the discussion of this agreement the Mexican Government constantly insisted that the passage of troops should be limited, as to the zone of operations on foreign soil, to the time that said troops should remain thereon, to the number of soldiers which should constitute the expedition, and to the class of arms to compose said expedition. The government of the United States refused to accept these limitations, and, finally, when it did accept the last counter proposal, it stated that in consenting to sign the agreement, it was on condition that said agreement should not apply to the Columbus expedition.

6. This attitude of the American Government was the cause of the Mexican Government sending its note of the 12th of April, in which, leaving aside all discussion of the agreement, once that it was not to cover the Columbus case, it asked the American Government to withdraw its troops, inasmuch as their presence on Mexican soil was not founded on any agreement, and as there was no further object in their remaining, once that the Villa bandits had been scattered and destroyed.

7. Though the American Government gave no answer to the said note of the 12th of April, nor did it take steps to withdraw its troops, it deemed it opportune that representatives of the armies of both countries should meet at some point on the frontier to treat of the military aspect of the situation, and to see if it were possible, in this way, to reach a satisfactory solution, which, on the part of Mexico, consisted in the withdrawal of American troops from its territory.

With this end in view, a conference was arranged at Ciudad Jaurez and El Paso between Gens. Hugh L. Scott and Frederick Funston, representing the American Government, and the Secretary of War and Marine of Mexico, Gen. Alvaro Obregon. A series of sessions was held and was marked by a spirit of frank cordiality. During these conferences the military situation and all data and explanations relating thereto were fully discussed.

As a result thereof there was submitted for the approval of the Governments of Washington and Mexico a project of a memorandum, in which Gen. Scott declared that the destruction and dispersion of the Villa band had been accomplished, and that in consequence thereof the American Government had decided to begin the withdrawal of its troops, under the promise of the Mexican Government to guard the frontier in such a manner as to prevent a recurrence of raids similar to that on Columbus.

8. The Mexican Government refused to give its approval to this

class of agreement, as it provided, furthermore, that the American Government might suspend the withdrawal of troops if any further incident might happen which would lead it to believe that Mexico was not able to protect the frontier as agreed upon.

The Mexican Government could not accept this conditional clause, as the evacuation of its territory is a matter which pertains entirely to the sovereignty of the country and is conditional, in no case, on the criterion of the American Government. On the other hand, it was very possible that some incident might occur which would give an aspect of legality to the indefinite stay of American troops on Mexican soil.

9. This point was still being discussed by Gens. Scott, Funston, and Obregon when, on the 6th of the present month of May, a party of bandits attacked an American garrison at Glenn Springs, on the American side, crossing immediately thereafter the Rio Bravo and interning themselves by way of Boquillas, in Mexican territory.

10. In view of this and fearing that the American Government might hasten the sending of more troops into Mexico in pursuit of the bandits, the Mexican Government gave instructions to Gen. Obregon to notify that of the United States that it would not permit the further passage of American troops into Mexico on this account, and that orders had been given to all the military commanders along the frontier not to consent to same.

11. On learning the attitude of the Mexican Government, Gens. Scott and Funston assured Gen. Obregon that no orders had been issued to American troops to cross the frontier on account of the Boquillas raid, and that, furthermore, no more American troops would cross into our territory.

This statement was made personally by Gens. Scott and Funston to Gen. Obregon at the time of the suspension of the conferences and was reiterated by Gen. Scott himself, thereafter, in a private conversation with Licenciado Juan Neftali Amador, Subsecretary of Foreign Relations, who had taken part in the said conferences between the military representatives of the United States and Mexico.

12. As a result of the Glenn Springs or Boquillas incident, and to prevent groups of bandits from organizing and arming near the frontier and repeating their raids, and in order to bring about an effective military coöperation between the American and the Mexican forces, this government suggested, through its representative, Gen. Obregon, to

the representatives of the United States, Gens. Scott and Funston, the advisability of settling upon a military plan providing for the distribution of troops along the frontier in order to insure an effective vigilance of the entire region, and in this way prevent, as far as possible, a recurrence of the raids. The Mexican Government in this way demonstrated not alone its good faith and intentions, but also its real desire to coöperate effectively with the Government of the United States, and to avoid new causes of friction between the two governments.

This reciprocal plan for the distribution of American and Mexican forces, in their respective territories along the frontier, was proposed in order to avert any immediate new cause of difficulty, the right being reserved, always, to reach a subsequent agreement for the reciprocal passage of troops as long as the abnormal conditions existed in our territory.

13. The conferences between Gens. Scott, Funston, and Obregon were suspended on the 11th of May without an arrangement having been reached for the unconditional withdrawal of American troops. Gen. Scott insisted on the preparation of a memorandum for the conditional withdrawal of American troops, but did not take into consideration the plan proposed by the Mexican Government for the protection of the frontier by a distribution of troops along the same.

Under these conditions the work of concluding the negotiations initiated at Ciudad Jaurez and El Paso reverted to the Governments of Washington and Mexico. Up to this moment no complication had arisen in regard to the new incident at Boquillas, and all the assurances given by Gens. Scott and Funston led one to suppose that this incident would not cause new difficulties.

14. The Mexican Government, nevertheless, has just been advised that some 400 men of the 8th Regiment of the American Army are on Mexican soil, having crossed the line near Boquillas about the 10th or the 11th instant. They are at present near a place called El Pino, some 60 miles to the south of the frontier. This fact reached the knowledge of the Mexican authorities through the commander of the American forces which crossed the frontier, he having sent the Mexican military commander a communication from Esmeralda, in Sierra Mojada, stating that he had crossed the frontier in pursuit of the bandits who had attacked Glenn Springs, in virtue of an agreement existing between the American and the Mexican Governments providing for the passage of troops and also with the consent of a Mexican consular officer at Del

Rio, Tex., whom he stated he had informed of the passage of the troops of his command.

15. The Mexican Government can not suppose that the American Government has, for the second time, committed an error in ordering the passage of its troops into Mexico without the consent of this government. It is difficult to understand how an officer of the American Army could enter Mexican territory without the due authorization of his superior officers, or that he should think for a moment that permission for the passage of his troops could be obtained from a consular officer.

The explanation given by the American Government for the sending of troops from Columbus has never been satisfactory to the Mexican Government, but the new invasion of our territory is not now an isolated fact, and leads the Mexican Government to believe that it has to treat with something more than a simple error.

16. This last act of the American forces creates new complications with the Mexican Government, renders more distant the possibility of a satisfactory solution, and creates a more complicated situation between the two countries.

The Mexican Government can not but consider this last act an invasion of our territory by American forces contrary to the expressed wish of the Mexican Government, and it is its duty to request, and it does request, of the American Government, that it order the immediate withdrawal of these new forces, and that it abstain from sending any further expedition of a similar nature.

17. The Mexican Government understands the obligation incumbent upon it to guard the frontier, but this obligation is not exclusively Mexican, and it hopes that the American Government, on which falls a similar obligation, will appreciate the material difficulties to be met with in so doing, inasmuch as it appears that the American forces themselves, notwithstanding their numbers and the further fact that their attention is not divided by other military operations, find themselves physically unable to protect effectively the frontier on the American side.

The Mexican Government has made every effort on its part to protect the frontier without, on the other hand, abandoning the work of pacifying the rest of the country, and the American Government should understand that if from time to time these lamentable incursions into American territory are perpetrated by bandit groups, this fact is rather a matter of pecuniary reparation and a reason to provide for a combined

defense, but never the cause for the American forces to invade Mexican soil.

The raid of the bandit groups into American territory is a lamentable affair to be true, but one for which the Mexican Government, which is doing all possible to avoid a recurrence of such acts, can not be held responsible. The passage of American regular troops into Mexican territory against the expressed wish to the government does, indeed, constitute an act for which the American Government is responsible.

18. The Mexican Government believes, therefore, that the time has come to insist that the American Government withdraw the new expedition from Boquillas and that it abstain in the future from sending further troops across the border. At all events, the Mexican Government, having expressed clearly its nonconformity with the crossing of additional troops into Mexico, is forced to consider this as an act of invasion of its territory and, in consequence, will be obliged to defend itself against any body of American troops on its soil.

19. In regard to the troops which are now in the State of Chihuahua and which crossed as a result of the Columbus affair, the Mexican Government is forced to insist upon their withdrawal.

The Mexican Government is aware that in case of a refusal to retire these troops, there is no further recourse than to defend its territory by appeal to arms, yet at the same time it understands its duty to avoid, as far as possible, an armed conflict between both countries, and relying on Article 21 of the treaty of the 2d of February, of 1848, it considers it its duty to resort to every pacific method to solve the international conflict pending between the two countries.

20. The Mexican Government considers it necessary to take advantage of this opportunity to request of the American Government a more categorical definition of its true intentions toward Mexico. In this respect it hopes that, in expressing itself with entire frankness, its words be not so interpreted as intending to wound the susceptibilities of the American Government, but it finds itself in the necessity of laying aside diplomatic euphemisms and expressing itself with all possible clearness. If in stating the grievances which follow the Mexican Government uses the utmost frankness, it is because it considers it its duty to bring the point of view of the Mexican people as clearly as possible to the attention of the Government and the people of the United States.

21. The American Government for some time past has been making assurance of friendship to the Latin American people, and has taken

advantage of every opportunity to convince them that it wishes to respect their sovereignty absolutely.

Especially with respect to Mexico the American Government has declared on various occasions that it was not its intention to intervene in any manner in its interior affairs and that it desires to leave it to our country to work out alone its difficult and varied problems of political and social transformation.

Only recently, on the occasion of sending the expedition from Columbus, the American Government, through the President, declared that it would not intervene in the domestic affairs of Mexico, nor invade the country; that it did not desire an inch of its territory, and that under no circumstances would any attempt be made on its sovereignty.

The Government at Washington and its representatives at the frontier have further expressly stated that it is not the wish of the American people to enter into a war or an armed conflict with the Mexican people.

In summing up the matter, and judging by the official statements which have for some time past been made by the Government at Washington, one would think that there was a real desire on the part of the government and the people not to enter into conflict with Mexico.

22. The Mexican Government has, nevertheless, to confess that the acts of the American military authorities are in direct contradiction to the statements above referred to, and finds itself forced, therefore, to appeal to the President, the Department of State, the Senate and the American people, for a definition, once for all, of the true political intentions of the United States as regards Mexico.

23. It is equally imperative that the Government of the United States define, in a precise manner, its intentions as to Mexico, in order that the other Latin American nations might judge of their sincerity, and that they might appreciate the true value of the assurances of friendship and fraternity made to them for many years past.

24. The American Government stated, through the President himself, that the punitive expedition from Columbus would be withdrawn from Mexican territory as soon as the Villa band had been destroyed or dispersed. More than two months have passed since the expedition entered Mexican territory. Gens. Scott and Funston declared in Ciudad Juarez that the bands of Villa are completely dispersed, and yet American troops are not as yet withdrawn from Mexico.

The Government of the United States is convinced and is cognizant of the fact that there is no further work of a military nature to be per-

formed by the expedition from Columbus, and nevertheless it has not yet complied with the promise made by President Wilson that these troops would be withdrawn as soon as the motive for their entry into Mexico had been removed.

The motives for preserving interior political order which might militate against the withdrawal of the troops from Mexican territory, unfounded as they are, do not justify this attitude, but, on the contrary, accentuate the discrepancy between the assurances of respect for Mexico's sovereignty and the actual fact that for purely political reasons in the United States this state of affairs, so unjust towards the Mexican Republic, is allowed to continue.

25. The American Government stated that its intention in sending troops into Mexico was only to defend its frontier against possible incursions. This statement is, notwithstanding, in contradiction to the attitude assumed by the government itself in discussing the agreement in regard to a reciprocal crossing of the boundary, for while the Mexican Government insisted that this agreement limit the zone of operations of the troops of each country, the duration of the expeditions, the number of soldiers and the class to which they should belong, the American Government constantly eluded these limitations. This attitude of the American Government, which was the one which expected to cross the boundaries at such times as might be necessary, in pursuit of the bandits, is clearly indicating its intention of preparing to penetrate further into Mexican territory than the purposes of defense would seem to warrant.

26. The punitive expedition from Columbus, as it has been called, did not have, according to statements of President Wilson, any further object than to capture and punish the band guilty of the raid, and was organized under the supposition that the Mexican Government had consented thereto. Nevertheless it has shown an attitude of manifest distrust toward the Mexican Government and a spirit of such absolute independence that it can not but justly be considered as an invasion without Mexico's consent, without its knowledge and without the coöperation of its authorities.

It was well known that the Columbus expedition crossed the frontier without the knowledge of the Mexican Government. The American military authorities carried out this expedition without waiting to obtain the consent of the Government of Mexico, and even after they were officially advised that this government had not given its consent thereto,

they continued to send forward more troops without informing the Mexican Government thereof.

The expedition has crossed into and operated in Mexican territory without seeking the coöperation of the Mexican authorities. The American military authorities have maintained always the most complete silence respecting their movements, never informing the Mexican Government of them, as they would have done had they in reality desired to obtain the coöperation of the latter. This failure to advise and coöperate with the Mexican authorities was the cause of the encounter which took place in Parral between the American forces and Mexican citizens.

Finally, the Columbus expedition was effected not in a spirit of harmony but, on the contrary, of distrust and suspicion of our authorities, for not only was no effort made to seek our cooperation or to keep us informed regarding the military operations being carried out, but the said expedition was organized with artillery and infantry forces.

If it was intended to pursue a band of robbers, an act which, by its very nature, required rapidity, such pursuit should have been carried out by a squad of cavalry. The employment of artillery and of infantry can not be explained in any other way than as a measure of precaution against a probable attack by the Mexican forces.

Now, then, it is not possible to reconcile the declarations of friendly coöperation made by the American authorities with the use of the infantry and artillery, exclusively destined for use against the regular Mexican forces.

If the Columbus expedition had been carried out with the consent of the Mexican Government and the coöperation of the latter had been sought, the employment of the artillery and of the infantry would have been an insult to the Mexican authorities as offering a suggestion of the possibility of treachery on their part against the American forces who had entered Mexican territory in the pursuit of a common enemy, relying on the friendship of the former. It is preferable, notwithstanding, to interpret this as a proof that the American forces crossed into Mexican territory without the consent of the Mexican Government and were, therefore, resolved to repel any aggression on the part of the regular Mexican troops, who were ignorant of their presence.

All of this demonstrates a great discrepancy between the assurances on the part of the American authorities of a sincere and friendly coöperation and the actual purpose of the expedition, which, through its dis-

trust, the secrecy maintained regarding its movements, and the forces of which it was composed, clearly indicated the hostile nature of the expedition and an actual invasion of our territory.

27. The American Government has stated on various occasions that the Columbus expedition had no other object than that of pursuing and dispersing Villa's bands, and that so soon as this was accomplished its forces would retire.

The facts, however, have demonstrated that the intention of the American Government was no longer the same as during the conferences at Ciudad Juarez and El Paso. There is no other way of explaining why Gen. Scott should have insisted so emphatically on the signing of a memorandum which stated that the American forces would not have been withdrawn if any other occurrence took place which might convince the American Government of the inability of the Government of Mexico to protect the frontier. The conclusion to be deduced from this insistence of Gen. Scott, on the signing of this memorandum, is that the Columbus expedition entered Mexico promising to withdraw as soon as the bands of Villa had been destroyed, but that afterwards efforts were made to make use of the said expedition as a means to guarantee the protection to the frontier.

28. The American Government justly desires the protection of its frontier. If the frontier were duly protected against incursions from Mexico there would be now no reason for the existing difficulties. The American Government understands perfectly the difficulties which exist in the protection of a boundary which possesses no natural advantages for its defense, and, notwithstanding its enormous resources the American Government itself has been unable to afford an efficient protection along the more than 2,000 kilometers which it has to cover.

The Mexican Government proposed that the military chiefs at the head of the troops of each country should discuss a plan of distribution of troops along the boundary line, and notwithstanding the assurances of the Government of the United States that it desired to find a solution to the difficulties with Mexico, Gen. Scott would not agree to carry out this plan, which is the only rational one and the only one which could be effected without the necessity of one or the other country invading the territory of the other. The American Government prefers to maintain its troops inactive and idle on Mexican territory rather than to withdraw them and station them along the border by arrangement with the Mexican authorities who would agree to do the same. By acting as it

has the American Government leads us to suppose that its real intention is to keep these troops in Mexico in the event that it may need them there later for future operations.

29. The American Government on every occasion has declared itself as desirous of assisting the Constitutionalist Government in concluding its work of pacification, and of accomplishing this in the shortest possible times. The real attitude of the American Government in connection with these desires appears incongruous, as, for some time past, it has been committing various acts which indicate that it not only does not lend its aid in the pacification of Mexico but that, on the contrary, it seems to place every possible obstacle in the way of attaining such an end. In reality, without considering the great volume of diplomatic representations which under the pretext of protection of established American interests in Mexico, constantly impede the labor of the new government in its efforts to reorganize the political, economic and social conditions of the country on new bases, a large number of other acts seem to show that the influence of the American Government is directed against the consolidation of the present Mexican Government.

The decided aid lent at one time to Villa by Gen. Scott and the Department of State was itself the principal cause of the prolonged civil war in Mexico. Later the continuous aid extended by the American Catholic clergy to that of Mexico, which labored unceasingly against the Constitutionalist Government, and the constant activity of the American press favoring intervention and the interests of the business men of the United States, are still further indications that the present American Government can not or will not prevent the work of conspiracy which is being effected in the United States against the Constitutionalist Government.

30. The American Government incessantly demands from the Mexican Government an effective protection of its frontier, and yet the greater part of the bands which take the name of rebels against this government are cared for and armed, if they are not also organized, on the American side under the tolerance of the authorities of the State of Texas, and, it may even be said, that of the Federal authorities of the United States. The leniency of the American authorities respecting these bands is such that in a majority of the cases the conspirators, who are well known, when they have been discovered and taken to prison, obtain their liberty by insignificant promises which allows them to continue in their efforts.

The Mexican emigrants who conspire and organize incursions from the United States side have now more facilities for doing harm than formerly, for they know that any new difficulty between Mexico and the United States will prolong the stay of the American troops. They endeavor therefore to increase the possibilities of conflict and friction.

31. The American Government says it will aid the Constitutionalist Government in its labor of pacification and demands urgently that such pacification be effected in the quickest possible time, and that at the same time the protection of the frontiers shall be effected in the most efficacious manner. Yet notwithstanding this, it has on various occasions detained the shipments of arms and munitions purchased by the Mexican Government in the United States, destined to be employed in accelerating the work of pacification and in the more effective protection of the frontier. The pretexts for detaining the shipments of munitions consigned to this government have always been futile, and a frank reason has never been given. It has been said, for example, that the munitions have been embargoed because of the fact that the true owner was not known, or because of the fear that they might fall into the hands of the Villistas.

The embargo on stores consigned to the Mexican Government can be interpreted in no other way than that the American Government desired to be on its guard against the emergency of a possible future conflict and for that reason tries to prevent arms and stores from reaching the Mexican Government, as they may eventually be used against the Americans themselves. The American Government would be within its rights in guarding against such an emergency, but in such a case it should not claim that it is trying to coöperate with the Mexican Government, and it would be better to show a greater frankness in its procedure.

Either the American Government really and decidedly wishes to assist the Mexican Government in reëstablishing peace, and in this event it should not impede the movement of arms, or else its real intention is to prepare itself so that in the event of future war with Mexico this country may find itself less provided with arms and provisions. If the latter is true it would be better to say so.

In any event the embargo on arms and supplies consigned to the Mexican authorities, effected under the weak pretext of preventing such arms and munitions from falling into the hands of the Villistas, is a clear indication that the real acts of the military authorities are completely

out of accord with the proposals of peace on the part of the American Government.

The Mexican Government does not wish war with the United States, and if this should occur it will be as a consequence of the deliberate cause by the United States. To-day these measures of precaution by the American Government show that there is a desire to be prepared for such an emergency, or, what amounts to the same thing, they manifest an attitude of hostility on the part of the United States toward Mexico.

32. Finally, the American authorities in New York, at the suggestion of a neutral society of pacifists, have ordered the detention of certain pieces of machinery which the Mexican Government removed to Mexico for the manufacture of munitions, which machinery could not be utilized for several months after bringing it to this country. This act of the American Government which tends to prevent the manufacture of munitions at a remote future time, is another clear indication that its true attitude toward Mexico is not a peaceful one, for, while millions and millions of dollars worth of arms and ammunition are exported for the European war without these societies of pacifists of the United States being perturbed thereby, the authorities of New York show themselves too much disposed to support the demands of these humanitarian societies when they deal with the proposition of exporting to Mexico machinery for the manufacture of its arms and supplies.

Mexico has the unquestionable right, as does the United States and all other nations of the world, to provide for its military necessities, above all when it finds itself confronted by a task so vast as that of accomplishing the internal pacification of this country; and the act of the United States in embargoing machinery destined for the manufacture of munitions indicates either that the United States wishes to place obstacles in the way of complete pacification or that this act is only one of a series effected by the authorities of the United States in providing against a possible war with Mexico.

33. All the circumstances hereinbefore mentioned indicate that the real objects of the military authorities of the United States are in absolute contradiction to the continued declarations of friendship on the part of the American Government toward Mexico.

34. The people and the Government of Mexico are absolutely sure that the American people do not desire war with Mexico. There are none the less great American and great Mexican interests anxious for a conflict between the two countries. The Mexican Government firmly

desires to maintain peace with the American Government, but to this end it is indispensable that the American Government explain frankly its true attitude toward Mexico.

It is indispensable that this contradiction between the assurances of friendship on the part of Washington and the acts of suspicion and distrust and aggression on the part of the military authorities should disappear.

The people and Government of Mexico must know what to expect, and wish to be sure that the assurances so many times expressed by the Government of the United States correspond really to its sincere desire for friendship between the two countries, friendship that should exist not only in the statements but which should be crystallized into acts.

The Mexican Government invites the Government of the United States to bring about a cessation of this situation of uncertainty between the two countries and to support its declarations and assurances of friendship with real and effective acts which shall convince the Mexican people of the sincerity of its proposals. These acts, at the moment can not be other than the immediate withdrawal of the American troops which are to-day on Mexican territory.

In complying with the instructions of the Citizens' First Chief, I avail myself of this opportunity to offer your excellency the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

THE SECRETARY:
C. AGUILAR.

The Secretary of State to the Secretary of Foreign Relations of the de facto Government of Mexico.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 20, 1916.

SIR: I have read your communication, which was delivered to me on May 22, 1916, under instructions of the Chief Executive of the *de facto* Government of Mexico, on the subject of the presence of American troops in Mexican territory, and I would be wanting in candor if I did not, before making answer to the allegations of fact and the conclusions reached by your government, express the surprise and regret which have been caused this government by the discourteous tone and temper of this last communication of the *de facto* Government of Mexico.

The Government of the United States has viewed with deep concern and increasing disappointment the progress of the revolution in Mexico. Continuous bloodshed and disorders have marked its progress. For three years the Mexican Republic has been torn with civil strife; the lives of Americans and other aliens have been sacrificed; vast properties developed by American capital and enterprise have been destroyed or rendered nonproductive; bandits have been permitted to roam at will through the territory contiguous to the United States and to seize, without punishment or without effective attempt at punishment, the property of Americans, while the lives of citizens of the United States who ventured to remain in Mexican territory or to return there to protect their interests have been taken, and in some cases barbarously taken, and the murderers have neither been apprehended nor brought to justice. It would be difficult to find in the annals of the history of Mexico conditions more deplorable than those which have existed there during these recent years of civil war.

It would be tedious to recount instance after instance, outrage after outrage, atrocity after atrocity, to illustrate the true nature and extent of the widespread conditions of lawlessness and violence which have prevailed. During the past nine months in particular, the frontier of the United States along the lower Rio Grande has been thrown into a state of constant apprehension and turmoil because of frequent and sudden incursions into American territory and depredations and murders on American soil by Mexican bandits, who have taken the lives and destroyed the property of American citizens, sometimes carrying American citizens across the international boundary with the booty seized. American garrisons have been attacked at night, American soldiers killed and their equipment and horses stolen; American ranches have been raided, property stolen and destroyed, and American trains wrecked and plundered. The attacks on Brownsville, Red House Ferry, Progreso Post Office, and Las Peladas, all occurring during September last, are typical. In these attacks on American territory, Carrancista adherents, and even Carrancista soldiers took part in the looting, burning and killing. Not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality, but uncivilized acts of mutilation were perpetrated. Representations were made to General Carranza and he was emphatically requested to stop these reprehensible acts in a section which he has long claimed to be under the complete domination of his authority. Notwithstanding these representations and the promise of General Nafarrete

to prevent attacks along the international boundary, in the following month of October a passenger train was wrecked by bandits and several persons killed seven miles north of Brownsville, and an attack was made upon United States troops at the same place several days later. Since these attacks leaders of the bandits well known both to Mexican civil and military authorities as well as to American officers have been enjoying with impunity the liberty of the towns of northern Mexico. So far has the indifference of the *de facto* government to these atrocities gone that some of these leaders, as I am advised, have received not only the protection of that government, but encouragement and aid as well.

Depredations upon American persons and property within Mexican jurisdiction have been still more numerous. This government has repeatedly requested in the strongest terms that the *de facto* government safeguard the lives and homes of American citizens and furnish the protection, which international obligation imposes, to American interests in the northern States of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Sonora, and also in the States to the south. For example, on January 3d troops were requested to punish the bands of outlaws which looted the Cusi mining property, eighty miles west of Chihuahua, but no effective results came from this request. During the following week the bandit Villa with his band of about 200 men was operating without opposition between Rubio and Santa Ysabel, a fact well known to Carrancista authorities. Meanwhile a party of unfortunate Americans started by train from Chihuahua to visit the Cusi mines, after having received assurances from the Carrancista authorities in the State of Chihuahua that the country was safe, and that a guard on the train was not necessary. The Americans held passports or safe conducts issued by authorities of the *de facto* government. On January 10th the train was stopped by Villa bandits and eighteen of the American party were stripped of their clothing and shot in cold blood, in what is now known as "the Santa Ysabel massacre." General Carranza stated to the agent of the Department of State that he had issued orders for the immediate pursuit, capture, and punishment of those responsible for this atrocious crime, and appealed to this government and to the American people to consider the difficulties of according protection along the railroad where the massacre occurred. Assurances were also given by Mr. Arredondo, presumably under instructions from the *de facto* government, that the murderers would be brought to justice, and that steps would also be taken to remedy the lawless condi-

tions existing in the State of Durango. It is true that Villa, Castro, and Lopez were publicly declared to be outlaws and subject to apprehension and execution, but so far as known, only a single man personally connected with this massacre has been brought to justice by Mexican authorities. Within a month after this barbarous slaughter of inoffensive Americans it was notorious that Villa was operating within twenty miles of Cusiuhiriachic, and publicly stated that his purpose was to destroy American lives and property. Despite repeated and insistent demands that military protection should be furnished to Americans, Villa openly carried on his operations, constantly approaching closer and closer to the border. He was not intercepted, nor were his movements impeded by troops of the *de facto* government, and no effectual attempt was made to frustrate his hostile designs against Americans. In fact, as I am informed, while Villa and his band were slowly moving toward the American frontier in the neighborhood of Columbus, New Mexico, not a single Mexican soldier was seen in his vicinity. Yet the Mexican authorities were fully cognizant of his movements, for on March 6th, as General Gavira publicly announced, he advised the American military authorities of the outlaw's approach to the border, so that *they* might be prepared to prevent him from crossing the boundary. Villa's unhindered activities culminated in the unprovoked and cold-blooded attack upon American soldiers and citizens in the town of Columbus on the night of March 9th, the details of which do not need repetition here in order to refresh your memory with the heinousness of the crime. After murdering, burning, and plundering, Villa and his bandits fleeing south passed within sight of the Carrancista military post at Casas Grandes, and no effort was made to stop him by the officers and garrison of the *de facto* government stationed there.

In the face of these depredations not only on American lives and property on Mexican soil but on American soldiers, citizens and homes on American territory, the perpetrators of which General Carranza was unable or possibly considered it inadvisable to apprehend and punish, the United States had no recourse other than to employ force to disperse the bands of Mexican outlaws who were with increasing boldness systematically raiding across the international boundary. The marauders engaged in the attack on Columbus were driven back across the border by American cavalry, and subsequently, as soon as a sufficient force to cope with the band could be collected, were pursued into Mexico in an effort to capture or destroy them. Without coöperation or assistance

in the field on the part of the *de facto* government, despite repeated requests by the United States, and without apparent recognition on its part of the desirability of putting an end to these systematic raids, or of punishing the chief perpetrators of the crimes committed, because they menaced the good relations of the two countries, American forces pursued the lawless bands as far as Parral, where the pursuit was halted by the hostility of Mexicans, presumed to be loyal to the *de facto* government, who arrayed themselves on the side of outlawry and became in effect the protectors of Villa and his band.

In this manner and for these reasons have the American forces entered Mexican territory. Knowing fully the circumstances set forth the *de facto* government cannot be blind to the necessity which compelled this government to act and yet it has seen fit to recite groundless sentiments of hostility toward the expedition and to impute to this government ulterior motives for the continued presence of American troops on Mexican soil. It is charged that these troops crossed the frontier without first obtaining the consent or permission of the *de facto* government. Obviously, as immediate action alone could avail, there was no opportunity to reach an agreement (other than that of March 10th–13th now repudiated by General Carranza) prior to the entrance of such an expedition into Mexico if the expedition was to be effective. Subsequent events and correspondence have demonstrated to the satisfaction of this government that General Carranza would not have entered into any agreement providing for an effective plan for the capture and destruction of the Villa bands. While the American troops were moving rapidly southward in pursuit of the raiders, it was the form and nature of the agreement that occupied the attention of General Carranza rather than the practical object which it was to attain—the number of limitations that could be imposed upon the American forces to impede their progress rather than the obstacles that could be raised to prevent the escape of the outlaws. It was General Carranza who suspended through your note of April 12th all discussions and negotiations for an agreement along the lines of the protocols between the United States and Mexico concluded during the period 1882–1896, under which the two countries had so successfully restored peaceful conditions on their common boundary. It may be mentioned here that, notwithstanding the statement in your note that “the American Government gave no answer to the note of the 12th of April,” this note was replied to on April 14th, when the Department instructed Mr. Rodgers by telegraph to deliver

this Government's answer to General Carranza. Shortly after this reply the conferences between Generals Scott, Funston and Obregon began at El Paso, during which they signed on May 2d a project of a memorandum *ad referendum* regarding the withdrawal of American troops. As an indication of the alleged bad faith of the American Government, you state that though General Scott declared in this memorandum that the destruction and dispersion of the Villa band "had been accomplished," yet American forces are not withdrawn from Mexico. It is only necessary to read the memorandum, which is in the English language, to ascertain that this is clearly a misstatement, for the memorandum states that "the American punitive expeditionary forces have destroyed or dispersed many of the lawless elements and bandits, * * * or have driven them far into the interior of the Republic of Mexico," and further, that the United States forces were then "carrying on a vigorous pursuit of such small numbers of bandits or lawless elements as may have escaped." The context of your note gives the impression that the object of the expedition being admittedly accomplished, the United States had agreed in the memorandum to begin the withdrawal of its troops. The memorandum shows, however, that it was not alone on account of partial dispersion of the bandits that it was decided to begin the withdrawal of American forces, but equally on account of the assurances of the Mexican Government that their forces were "at the present time being augmented and strengthened to such an extent that they will be able to prevent any disorders occurring in Mexico that would in any way endanger American territory," and that they would "continue to diligently pursue, capture or destroy any lawless bands of bandits that may still exist or hereafter exist in the northern part of Mexico," and that it would "make a proper distribution of such of its forces as may be necessary to prevent the possibility of invasion of American territory from Mexico." It was because of these assurances and because of General Scott's confidence that they would be carried out that he stated in the memorandum that the American forces would be "*gradually* withdrawn." It is to be noted that, while the American Government was willing to ratify this agreement, General Carranza refused to do so, as General Obregon stated, because, among other things, it imposed improper conditions upon the Mexican Government.

Notwithstanding the assurances in the memorandum, it is well known that the forces of the *de facto* government have not carried on a vigorous pursuit of the remaining bandits and that no proper distribution of forces

to prevent the invasion of American territory has been made, as will be shown by the further facts hereinafter set forth. I am reluctant to be forced to the conclusion which might be drawn from these circumstances that the *de facto* government, in spite of the crimes committed and the sinister designs of Villa and his followers, did not and does not now intend or desire that these outlaws should be captured, destroyed, or dispersed by American troops or, at the request of this government, by Mexican troops.

While the conferences at El Paso were in progress, and after the American conferees had been assured on May 2d that the Mexican forces in the northern part of the republic were then being augmented so as to be able to prevent any disorders that would endanger American territory, a band of Mexicans, on the night of May 5th, made an attack at Glenn Springs, Texas, about twenty miles north of the border, killing American soldiers and civilians, burning and sacking property and carrying off two Americans as prisoners. Subsequent to this event, the Mexican Government, as you state, "gave instructions to General Obregon to notify that of the United States that it would not permit the further passage of American troops into Mexico on this account, and that orders had been given to all military commanders along the frontier not to consent to same." This government is of course not in a position to dispute the statement that these instructions had been given to General Obregon, but it can decisively assert that General Obregon never gave any such notification to General Scott or General Funston or, so far as known, to any other American official. General Obregon did, however, inquire as to whether American troops had entered Mexico in pursuit of the Glenn Springs raiders, and General Funston stated that no orders had been issued to American troops to cross the frontier on account of the raid, but this statement was made before any such orders had been issued, and not afterwards, as the erroneous account of the interview given in your note would appear to indicate. Moreover, no statement was made by the American generals that "no more American troops would cross into our territory." On the contrary, it was pointed out to General Obregon and to Mr. Juan Amador, who was present at the conference, and pointed out with emphasis, that the bandits de la Rosa and Pedro Vino, who had been instrumental in causing the invasion of Texas above Brownsville, were even then reported to be arranging in the neighborhood of Victoria for another raid across the border, and it was made clear to General Obregon that if the Mexican

Government did not take immediate steps to prevent another invasion of the United States by these marauders, who were frequently seen in the company of General Nafarrete, the Constitutionalist commander, Mexico would find in Tamaulipas another punitive expedition similar to that then in Chihuahua. American troops crossed into Mexico on May 10th, upon notification to the local military authorities, under the repudiated agreement of March 10-13th, or in any event in accordance with the practice adopted over forty years ago, when there was no agreement regarding pursuit of marauders across the international boundary. These troops penetrated 168 miles into Mexican territory in pursuit of the Glenn Springs marauders without encountering a detachment of Mexican troops or a single Mexican soldier. Further discussion of this raid, however, is not necessary, because the American forces sent in pursuit of the bandits recrossed into Texas on the morning of May 22d, the date of your note under consideration—a further proof of the singleness of purpose of this government in endeavoring to quell disorder and stamp out lawlessness along the border.

During the continuance of the El Paso conferences, General Scott, you assert, did not take into consideration the plan proposed by the Mexican Government for the protection of the frontier by the reciprocal distribution of troops along the boundary. This proposition was made by General Obregon a number of times, but each time conditioned upon the immediate withdrawal of American troops, and the Mexican conferees were invariably informed that *immediate* withdrawal could not take place, and that therefore it was impossible to discuss the project on that basis.

I have noted the fact that your communication is not limited to a discussion of the deplorable conditions existing along the border and their important bearing on the peaceful relations of our governments, but that an effort is made to connect it with other circumstances in order to support, if possible, a mistaken interpretation of the attitude of the Government of the United States toward Mexico. You state in effect that the American Government has placed every obstacle in the way of attaining the pacification of Mexico, and that this is shown by the volume of diplomatic representations in behalf of American interests which constantly impede efforts to reorganize the political, economical, and social conditions of the country; by the decided aid lent at one time to Villa by American officers and by the Department of State; by the aid extended by the American Catholic clergy to that of Mexico; by

the constant activity of the American press in favor of intervention and the interests of American business men; by the shelter and supply of rebels and conspirators on American territory; by the detention of shipments of arms and munitions purchased by the Mexican Government; and by the detention of machinery intended for their manufacture.

In reply to this sweeping charge, I can truthfully affirm that the American Government has given every possible encouragement to the *de facto* government in the pacification and rehabilitation of Mexico. From the moment of its recognition, it has had the undivided support of this government. An embargo was placed upon arms and ammunition going into Chihuahua, Sonora, and Lower California, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the armed opponents of the *de facto* government. Permission has been granted from time to time, as requested, for Mexican troops and equipment to traverse American territory from one point to another in Mexico in order that the operations of Mexican troops against Villa and his forces might be facilitated. In view of these friendly acts, I am surprised that the *de facto* government has construed diplomatic representations in regard to the unjust treatment accorded American interests, private assistance to opponents to the *de facto* government by sympathizers in a foreign country, and the activity of a foreign press as interference by the United States Government in the domestic politics of Mexico. If a denial is needed that this government has had ulterior and improper motives in its diplomatic representations, or has countenanced the activities of American sympathizers and the American press opposed to the *de facto* government, I am glad most emphatically to deny it. It is, however, a matter of common knowledge that the Mexican press has been more active than the press in the United States in endeavoring to inflame the two peoples against each other and to force the two countries into hostilities. With the power of censorship of the Mexican press, so rigorously exercised by the *de facto* government, the responsibility for this activity cannot, it would seem, be avoided by that government, and the issue of the appeal of General Carranza himself in the press of March 12th, calling upon the Mexican people to be prepared for any emergency which might arise, and intimating that war with the United States was imminent, evidences the attitude of the *de facto* government toward these publications. It should not be a matter of surprise that, after such manifestations of hostile feeling, the United States was doubtful of the purpose for which the large amount of ammunition was to be

used which the *de facto* government appeared eager to import from this country. Moreover, the policy of the *de facto* government in refusing to coöperate and in failing to act independently in destroying the Villa bandits and in otherwise suppressing outlawry in the vicinity of the border so as to remove the danger of war materials, while passing southward through this zone, falling into the hands of the enemies of law and order is, in the opinion of this government, a sufficient ground, even if there were no other, for the refusal to allow such materials to cross the boundary into the bandit-infested region. To have permitted these shipments without careful scrutiny would, in the circumstances, have been to manifest a sense of security which would have been unjustified.

Candor compels me to add that the unconcealed hostility of the subordinate military commanders of the *de facto* government toward the American troops engaged in pursuing the Villa bands and the efforts of the *de facto* Government to compel their withdrawal from Mexican territory by threats and show of military force instead of by aiding in the capture of the outlaws constitute a menace to the safety of the American troops and to the peace of the border. As long as this menace continues and there is any evidence of an intention on the part of the *de facto* government or its military commanders to use force against the American troops instead of coöperating with them, the Government of the United States will not permit munitions of war or machinery for their manufacture to be exported from this country to Mexico.

As to the shelter and supply of rebels and conspirators on American territory, I can state that vigorous efforts have been and are being made by the agents of the United States to apprehend and bring to justice all persons found to be conspiring to violate the laws of the United States by organizing to oppose with arms the *de facto* Government of Mexico. Political refugees have undoubtedly sought asylum in the United States, but this government has vigilantly kept them under surveillance and has not hesitated to apprehend them upon proof of their criminal intentions, as the arrest of General Huerta and others fully attests.

Having corrected the erroneous statements of fact to which I have adverted, the real situation stands forth in its true light. It is admitted that American troops have crossed the international boundary in hot pursuit of the Columbus raiders and without notice to or the consent of your government but the several protestations on the part of this government by the President, by this department, and by other American authorities, that the object of the expedition was to capture, destroy,

or completely disperse the Villa bands of outlaws or to turn this duty over to the Mexican authorities when assured that it would be effectively fulfilled, have been carried out in perfect good faith by the United States. Its efforts, however, have been obstructed at every point; first, by insistence on a palpably useless agreement which you admit was either not to apply to the present expedition or was to contain impracticable restrictions on its organization and operation; then by actual opposition, encouraged and fostered by the *de facto* government, to the further advance of the expedition into Villa territory, which was followed by the sudden suspension of all negotiations for an arrangement for the pursuit of Villa and his followers and the protection of the frontier; and finally by a demand for the immediate withdrawal of the American troops. Meantime, conditions of anarchy in the border States of Mexico were continually growing worse. Incursions into American territory were plotted and perpetrated; the Glenn Springs raid was successfully executed, while no effective efforts were being made by General Carranza to improve the conditions and to protect American territory from constant threat of invasion. In view of this increasing menace, of the inactivity of the Carranza forces, of the lack of coöperation in the apprehension of the Villa bands, and of the known encouragement and aid given to bandit leaders, it is unreasonable to expect the United States to withdraw its forces from Mexican territory or to prevent their entry again when their presence is the only check upon further bandit outrages and the only efficient means of protecting American lives and homes--safe-guards which General Carranza, though internationally obligated to supply, is manifestly unable or unwilling to give.

In view of the actual state of affairs as I have outlined it above, I am now in a position to consider the conclusions which you have drawn in your note under acknowledgment from the erroneous statements of fact which you have set forth.

Your government intimates, if it does not openly charge, that the attitude of the United States is one of insincerity, distrust, and suspicion toward the *de facto* Government of Mexico, and that the intention of the United States in sending its troops into Mexico is to extend its sovereignty over Mexican territory, and not merely for the purpose of pursuing marauders and preventing future raids across the border. The *de facto* government charges by implication which admits of but one interpretation, that this government has as its object territorial aggrandizement even at the expense of a war of aggression against a

neighbor weakened by years of civil strife. The Government of the United States, if it had had designs upon the territory of Mexico, would have had no difficulty in finding during this period of revolution and disorder many plausible arguments for intervention in Mexican affairs. Hoping, however, that the people of Mexico would through their own efforts restore peace and establish an orderly government, the United States has awaited with patience the consummation of the revolution.

When the superiority of the revolutionary faction led by General Carranza became undoubted, the United States, after conferring with six others of the American Republics, recognized unconditionally the present *de facto* government. It hoped and expected that that government would speedily restore order and provide the Mexican people and others, who had given their energy and substance to the development of the great resources of the republic, opportunity to rebuild in peace and security their shattered fortunes.

This government has waited month after month for the consummation of its hope and expectation. In spite of increasing discouragements, in spite of repeated provocations to exercise force in the restoration of order in the northern regions of Mexico, where American interests have suffered most seriously from lawlessness, the Government of the United States has refrained from aggressive action and sought by appeals and moderate though explicit demands to impress upon the *de facto* government the seriousness of the situation and to arouse it to its duty to perform its international obligations toward citizens of the United States who had entered the territory of Mexico or had vested interests within its boundaries.

In the face of constantly renewed evidences of the patience and restraint of this government in circumstances which only a government imbued with unselfishness and a sincere desire to respect to the full the sovereign rights and national dignity of the Mexican people would have endured, doubts and suspicions as to the motives of the Government of the United States are expressed in your communication of May 22d, for which I can imagine no purpose but to impugn the good faith of this government for I find it hard to believe that such imputations are not universally known to be without the least shadow of justification in fact.

Can the *de facto* government doubt that, if the United States had turned covetous eyes on Mexican territory, it could have found many pretexts in the past for the gratification of its desire? Can that govern-

ment doubt that months ago, when the war between the revolutionary factions was in progress, a much better opportunity than the present was afforded for American intervention, if such has been the purpose of the United States as the *de facto* government now insinuates? What motive could this government have had in refraining from taking advantage of such opportunities other than unselfish friendship for the Mexican Republic? I have of course given consideration to your argument that the responsibility for the present situation rests largely upon this government. In the first place, you state that even the American forces along the border whose attention is undivided by other military operations, "Find themselves physically unable to protect effectively the frontier on the American side." Obviously, if there is no means of reaching bands roving on Mexican territory and making sudden dashes at night into American territory it is impossible to prevent such invasions unless the frontier is protected by a cordon of troops. No government could be expected to maintain a force of this strength along the boundary of a nation with which it is at peace for the purpose of resisting the onslaughts of a few bands of lawless men, especially when the neighboring state makes no effort to prevent these attacks. The most effective method of preventing raids of this nature, as past experience has fully demonstrated, is to visit punishment or destruction on the raiders. It is precisely this plan which the United States desires to follow along the border without any intention of infringing upon the sovereign rights of her neighbor, but which, although obviously advantageous to the *de facto* government, it refuses to allow or even countenance. It is in fact protection to American lives and property about which the United States is solicitous and not the methods or ways in which that protection shall be accomplished. If the Mexican Government is unwilling or unable to give this protection by preventing its territory from being the rendezvous and refuge of murderers and plunderers, that does not relieve this government from its duty to take all the steps necessary to safeguard American citizens on American soil. The United States Government can not and will not allow bands of lawless men to establish themselves upon its borders with liberty to invade and plunder American territory with impunity and, when pursued, to seek safety across the Rio Grande, relying upon the plea of their government that the integrity of the soil of the Mexican Republic must not be violated.

The Mexican Government further protests that it has "made every effort on its part to protect the frontier" and that it is doing "all pos-

sible to avoid a recurrence of such acts." Attention is again invited to the well-known and unrestricted activity of de la Rosa, Ancieto Piscano, Pedro Vino and others in connection with border raids and to the fact that, as I am advised, up to June 4th de la Rosa was still collecting troops at Monterey for the openly avowed purpose of making attacks on Texan border towns and that Pedro Vino was recruiting at other places for the same avowed purpose. I have already pointed out the uninterrupted progress of Villa to and from Columbus, and the fact that the American forces in pursuit of the Glenn Springs marauders penetrated 168 miles into Mexican territory without encountering a single Carrancista soldier. This does not indicate that the Mexican Government is doing "all possible" to avoid further raids; and if it is doing "all possible," this is not sufficient to prevent border raids, and there is every reason, therefore, why this government must take such preventive measures as it deems sufficient.

It is suggested that injuries suffered on account of bandit raids are a matter of "pecuniary reparation" but "never the cause for American forces to invade Mexican soil." The precedents which have been established and maintained by the Government of the Mexican Republic for the last half century do not bear out this statement. It has grown to be almost a custom not to settle depredations of bandits by payments of money alone, but to quell such disorders and to prevent such crimes by swift and sure punishment.

The *de facto* government finally argues that "if the frontier were duly protected from incursions from Mexico there would be no reason for the existing difficulty"; thus the *de facto* government attempts to absolve itself from the first duty of any government, namely, the protection of life and property. This is the paramount obligation for which governments are instituted, and governments neglecting or failing to perform it are not worthy of the name. This is the duty for which General Carranza, it must be assumed, initiated his revolution in Mexico and organized the present government and for which the United States Government recognized his government as the *de facto* government of Mexico. Protection of American lives and property, then, in the United States is first the obligation of this government, and in Mexico is, first, the obligation of Mexico, and second, the obligation of the United States. In securing this protection along the common boundary the United States has a right to expect the coöperation of its neighboring republic; and yet, instead of taking steps to check or punish the raiders, the

de facto government demurs and objects to measures taken by the United States. The Government of the United States does not wish to believe that the *de facto* government approves these marauding attacks, yet as they continue to be made, they show that the Mexican Government is unable to repress them. This inability, as this government has had occasion in the past to say, may excuse the failure to check the outrages complained of, but it only makes stronger the duty of the United States to prevent them, for if the Government of Mexico can not protect the lives and property of Americans, exposed to attack from Mexicans, the Government of the United States is in duty bound, so far as it can, to do so.

In conclusion, the Mexican Government invites the United States to support its "assurances of friendship with real and effective acts" which "can be no other than the immediate withdrawal of the American troops." For the reasons I have herein fully set forth, this request of the *de facto* government can not now be entertained. The United States has not sought the duty which has been forced upon it of pursuing bandits who under fundamental principles of municipal and international law, ought to be pursued and arrested and punished by Mexican authorities. Whenever Mexico will assume and effectively exercise that responsibility the United States, as it has many times before publicly declared, will be glad to have this obligation fulfilled by the *de facto* government of Mexico. If, on the contrary, the *de facto* government is pleased to ignore this obligation and to believe that "in case of a refusal to retire these troops there is no further recourse than to defend its territory by an appeal to arms," the Government of the United States would surely be lacking in sincerity and friendship if it did not frankly impress upon the *de facto* government that the execution of this threat will lead to the gravest consequences. While this government would deeply regret such a result, it cannot recede from its settled determination to maintain its national rights and to perform its full duty in preventing further invasions of the territory of the United States and in removing the peril which Americans along the international boundary have borne so long with patience and forbearance.

Accept, etc.,

ROBERT LANSING.